1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Within the traditional homes the central fireplace provides the only artificial light and heat that the occupants enjoy, although candles and kerosene lamps are gradually being adopted by those who can afford them. Cooking is done at the open fire, often in pots that are suspended by chains. Pottery vessels were formerly the rule, but commercially made iron utensils are now common. Wood is the chief fuel, but straw may be used to build up a refractory fire. Unlike farmers in the United States, who take pride in having neat and ample piles of seasoned wood, the Araucanians have the custom of dragging several large pieces of timber into their yards. Here the wood lies exposed to the weather and, whenever necessary, someone hurries outdoors and chops off a few sticks. Even in the rainy season no attempt is made to store up a large quantity of dry wood. At night, fires are neither extinguished nor kept going. They are generally covered and left smouldering so that they may readily be blown up the next day.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

One of the most striking aspects of a contemporary Araucanian reservation is the absence of any formal distribution of houses: "There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town."[17] Not infrequently, houses are built in small clusters of three or four, known as *lofche*, but single dwellings that stand apart are common. As a general rule, each home is within view of several others, but rarely do footpaths connect the structures. This separation has been noted by a number of writers, but it has never been completely explained.

Very likely, the antipathy of the Mapuche for spatial cohesion may originally have been a reflection of their loosely knit social organization, and it may also have been an expression of their deep desire for independence. Then again, during the era of steady fighting such a settlement pattern may doubtless have had strategic significance, for no enemy commander was likely

[17] Titiev, 1949, p. 3.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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tion, and those leading to the Chilean towns or from one reduction to another are little more than wagon trails, unsurfaced, ungraded, and rarely kept in repair. Ordinarily, they can be used by oxcart except in the rainy season, when they are passable, if at all, only on horseback (Pl. V, Fig. 1).

One of the factors that has served to augment the isolation of Mapuche reservations is the increase of fences. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of large *fundos*, which are likely to be completely enclosed, thus forcing travelers to make long detours.

Throughout the area the hardships of winter travel are most clearly manifested in cases of severe illness. Our attention was called to numerous instances of people from Cholchol who, when stricken with appendicitis, had to travel several hours on horseback to reach a hospital. We also witnessed a very dramatic event on the night of July 5, 1948, when an Araucanian young woman attempted suicide by shooting herself in the stomach. About a dozen men took turns in wretched weather to carry her twenty miles in an improvised litter to the mission hospital in Cholchol. She was given first aid and ordered to go to Nueva Imperial for further treatment. This necessitated another long journey over miserable roads in a small cart. We were unable to learn whether or not the patient survived the trip, for a storm blew down Cholchol's telephone connections.

FOOD HABITS

The preparation of food is a principal concern of the women. Wheat is the main staple; most commonly it is ground to flour and parched or toasted to make *mūrke*. It is then usually stirred into hot or cold water to form a gruel or porridge that is called *chaikan* if salted, and *wilpud* or *ullpud* if sweetened. Wheat flour is also mixed with water, salt, and leavening to prepare a dough that is baked in hot ashes to make a tortilla-like bread called *remulkofke*. Occasionally, too, bread dough is fried in deep fat, in the form of a large circular roll (*iwinkofke*) that has a crisp crust and a soft interior.

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the
264 pattern of eating three times a day at fixed intervals, nor do
512 they have names for their meals. When one informant was purposely pressed into designating the meals by names, he gave the following terms: breakfast, *liwen korũ* ("early morning soup"); lunch, *raniañtu korũ* ("noonday soup"); and supper, *pun·korũ* ("night soup").[18]

262 There is not a great deal of variety to the customary diet.
264 Soup or gruel is the main dish, eaten with bread whenever there
252 is any. Breakfast is taken between sunrise and eight in the morning. It usually consists of coarsely ground, unparched wheat, mixed with water, and flavored with salt and greens such as *yuyo*,[19] young leeks or scallions, chili peppers, and coriander. This standard soup, to which lard may be added when available, is called *tikin korũ*. Sometimes, *chaikan* or *ullpud* is eaten instead, and on occasion a change is provided in the form of an oatmeal or bran soup, *chikal korũ*, enriched and flavored in the usual way.[20]

If a man departs very early for work, he may do without his breakfast or arrange to have soup and bread sent out to him.

The midday meal is ordinarily eaten in the *ruka* between noon and three. Most often it consists of bread and a sort of succotash, *pisku*, made by cooking together beans, peas, corn, potatoes, and greens.[21] Occasionally, yerba maté is drunk at this time.

Supper is eaten well after sundown, and is much like breakfast except that those who have it drink yerba maté at night.

[18] Moesbach (1930, p. 191) reported that formerly only two meals were eaten daily. The only term for a particular meal listed by Augusta (1916, I: 65) is *iagel*, for which he gave *comida* as a translation. *Comida* may mean any meal, but more commonly it is used for supper or dinner in the evening. Latcham (1909, p. 342) said that there are no special names for their meals.

[19] *Yuyo* refers to vegetables of the mustard-turnip group (*Brassica*). Additional details regarding Araucanian food usages may be found in Molina (1808, II: 105 ff.) and in Latcham (1909, pp. 340–43).

[20] Cornmeal was sometimes put in for thickening. When available, macaroni or spaghetti is now added.

[21] I was told by Mrs. Donaldson that both Indian and Chilean women usually throw away "the first water," i.e., the vitamin-rich water in which the vegetables are cooked.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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superb horsemen, and many wore colorful vests or ponchos, the mounted men made a highly picturesque sight. These circuits are called *awn*.

It was impossible to keep track of the number of times that the ostrich dancers came and went, or of the circuits made by the riders, but when these activities were over a dozen or so men took hockey sticks from the altar and played a short game of *chueca* in which only a single goal was scored. The sticks were then replaced and everyone prepared to eat lunch. These special events, it developed, had been ordered by the *machi*. At the invitation of the Coigue chief, all visiting males, mounted or afoot then arranged themselves in an informal line parallel to the ramadas. Starting at one end, the cacique and Ramón Chihuaicura, as well as one or two other local residents, went from man to man, shaking hands and exchanging kinship terms or greetings with each visitor. Food was then served to visiting women and children and to a few Coigue people at the shelters, but for a long time most men of the home reservation went back and forth carrying roasted meat and apple *chicha* from their ramadas to friends and kin among the masculine visitors.[*] Beef, pig, horse, and chicken were roasted on spits over open fires, and no one was allowed to go hungry. Every resident of Coigue sent meat and drink to the *machi*, who lunched at the cacique's ramada. Some wine may have been drunk but I observed only one old man who might have been intoxicated.

Following lunch there was a long rest, after which most groups partook of hard-boiled eggs with mashed chili peppers and cider as a sort of "high tea." During the recess the Coigue chief took up a *kul-trufi*, and singing in falsetto, gave a lively imitation of the *machi*'s manner of acting. Those in the near-by ramadas who could watch this performance, thoroughly enjoyed his impromptu burlesque.

When the afternoon was well advanced, the celebrants re-

[*] By Araucanian convention gifts are given to specific individuals. No shame or embarrassment is felt by any party if a cup of *chicha*, for example, is given to one member of a group, who drinks all of it while his companions do without. Those who get more than they can eat carry the surplus home.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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proceeded to Malalche.[28] A double row of ramadas stretched for nearly 100 yards, back to back. Those on one side were roofed and, as we were told, were used by local residents, while the unroofed ramadas were for visitors. We found a vacant shelter, near which Melinao unhitched the oxen, and which we used for rest during the day. Fires were lit at each ramada, and women were busy roasting meat on long iron skewers and preparing soup and other foods. We later discovered that the shelters had been pitched on the Malalche hockey ground, and that the playing field comprised the sacred area for the *ñillatun*. At the west end of the field there were a few sacred tree branches, a white banner, several bowls containing beans, peppers, and other produce, and jars of water, *chicha*, or *mudai*. This may be described as a secondary altar. About two or three hundred feet away, toward the eastern extremity of the hockey ground, was the main altar, which was made up of cinnamon and other branches, a Chilean flag, and a white banner. Jugs of liquids and small trays of seeds and grains stood at the foot of the altar, and near by a white sheep was tied to a small stake.

When we arrived the *machi* was seated on a small stool, facing the main altar (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1).[29] Beside her stood two female assistants, each one beating a *kul·truñ*, and all three chanting in time to the music. The *machi* was short and fat, dressed in the usual Mapuche manner except for a white scarf entwined in her hair ribbons, and she held a short string of sleigh bells and a sprig of cinnamon(?) in her hand. On the opposite side of the altar a group of two young women and four

[28] The women rode in an oxcart driven by Melinao (Pl. VI, Fig. 1). The rest of us walked. My wife and Raúl made independent notes of their observations and very kindly allowed me to incorporate them with my own. Later, Juan Antinao answered numerous questions to explain the meaning of many things we had noticed.

[29] We learned that this *machi* came from Cholchol where she lived in Chilean style. Many unfavorable comments were made by our friends because she did not maintain strict control of the proceedings, and because she apparently allowed herself to become drunk as the day progressed. Juan Antinao told us afterward that she had received sixty portions of roast meat and many beverages for her services.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *madi* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking.

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*).

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare.

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period.

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*).

The birds were more numerous and included the *vudu* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *bandurria*, *peguen* or wild geese, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish.

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry.

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes.

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint.

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled.

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

252 264 415 The food is served in wooden bowls and platters, the men being served first. They do not use a different bowl or platter for each individual, but the adult males sit round the bowls in groups of three or four, each one helping himself in rotation, beginning with the eldest, or with the guests, if any are present. Should the visitor be a stranger or a person of consideration he is given a platter to himself. They use wooden spoons for their meals, but latterly the tin or pewter article of commerce has been much adopted. After the men have finished, the women and children partake of the leavings in the same manner.

The platters and spoons are not washed till after the meal. To remove grease they use wood ashes.

262 A few of their principal dishes are as follows: *ticum corí*, flesh cooked with bruised wheat or maize; *pulli corí*, potatoes and maize; beans or peas boiled with grease, and various other stews in which the *mote* or skinned wheat or maize form the principal ingredient. The coast Indians also use two or three edible kinds of *algæ*.

The favourite meat is horse-flesh, and mutton, half cooked, but they prefer the former, seldom killing their horned cattle, which they keep for commercial and agricultural purposes.

Another common article of fare is the *ulpud*, with which the Indian concludes most of his meals, breaks his fast in the early morning, and which he takes with him on all his journeys. It consists of toasted wheatmeal, and is eaten or drunk with water which any brook or spring supplies.

264 512 The Indians take their meals at any hour, but generally at mid-day and sundown. If they feel hungry at other times, the inevitable *ulpud* is their immediate satisfier.

They have no special names for their meals.

252 The use of bread antedates the Spanish conquest, and at present they prepare different kinds from all their cereals.

The latter are ground, not by pounding but by rubbing. A little grain is placed on a flat stone, and rubbed with a smaller one, held in both hands; the operator kneeling beside the larger stone and bringing the weight of the body to bear in the operation. The meal is sometimes sifted in horsehair sieves, but is generally used entire.

No ovens are used, but the bread is baked in the ashes in the form of *tortillas* or flat cakes. A primitive leaven is prepared by the old women or children chewing the grain and then leaving it to ferment in water, or in a hole in the ground.

262 [565] There is very little difference in the foods of the upper and lower classes among the Araucanos, save perhaps the quantity of flesh consumed; nor do there seem to have been any tabooed foods. Men and women eat from a common supply.

733 Like most other barbarians, these Indians are greatly addicted to drunkenness, especially since the introduction of distilled spirits. They are accustomed to

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture (McClafferty, 1932, p. 44).

Horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 16th century. The use of the Iberian hamstringer for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Molina (1878 b, p. 487) for the second third of the 18th century.

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the mainland *Mapuche-Huilliche* living on or near the Coast, while among the Chilotans they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kind of fish were taken, such as mullets (*Mugil* sp.), flatfish (*Paralichthys* sp.), porgies (*Sparus* sp.), silversides (*Austromenidia regia*), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: Sea urchins (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.), crustaceans (*Aegla* sp. and *Paranephrops* sp., and probably also marine crabs of several species), and bivalves (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidesma* sp., *Tellina* sp., Unionids, and others). Ascidians or sea-squirts (Pirura) were sought also for food.

Fish were taken with: Nets of bark, of chupon (*Greigia sphacelata*), and, later, of hemp; ponchos and baskets, baited and put under water (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 150); fykes of quila (*Chusquea* sp.); hook (of thorn, bone, or wood) and line; spears, including a three-pronged one; clubs with studded heads; and weirs of branches, used by the Indians of Chiloé (Olivares, 1874, p. 365). Fish were also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Drimys winteri* (Febrés, 1882, s. v. rincin; Housse, 1939, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported.

Food storage.—Grain and other food were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes, in bins within the hut.

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Maize was prepared in many ways. Green maize was boiled in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot embers, or it was dried, shelled, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with metate and two-handed cylindrical muller (Ovalle, 1888, 12: 158; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 40–41). Two kinds of flour were made: raw, or *rayo*; and parched, or *mürke*. From the first was made a bread, *kofke*, in the form of flat cakes, or tortillas, baked in ashes, or in pit ovens. A sort of leaven therefor was made from a bit of the grain chewed by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Latcham, 1909, p. 342 [post-Columbian?]). The parched maize (or wheat) in cold water was regularly taken on arising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of *luscum*, tea, mango, and lanco. (Cf. supra under Wild Plant Foods, p. 702.)

Meat was preferred lightly cooked. Some bits were eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and sundried or smoked to make charki, or jerked meat.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

263 [B17] Honey, ají, and salt were used as condiments. Salt was obtained from the sea and from Andean salt deposits. Where salt was lacking, as near the Coast, food was cooked in salt water, or plant ashes were substituted. The oil made from madi seeds was much used in cooking. Wild thyme and wild mint were also used as seasoning (Latcham, 1909, p. 341).

● 252 A great number of different dishes were made. Stews or broths were the more common; e.g., meat and maize, maize and potatoes, beans and grease, etc. A favorite dish was made of potatoes allowed to rot a couple of months in stagnant water. Another favorite was apoll, parboiled lungs of an animal so slaughtered that they filled with blood. Raw blood of cattle was drunk or eaten coagulated.

264 **Eating.**—Fast was broken in the morning with the maize (or wheat) flour drink mentioned above. In early times, two meals a day were customary, the first just before noon, the second at dusk, according to some sources (Barlaeus, 1647, p. 268), but not all. (Cf. Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285.) Round wooden plates and spoons of wood or bivalve shells were used at meals. Gourds served as cups. The pottery plates and the wooden or clay cups with handles appear to be more recent. There were no tables; the *Mapuche-Huilliche* ate sitting on the ground.

264 The men ate together; the women ate apart from them. The wife placed food before her husband, but he did not eat till she told him to do so. It was likewise bad manners for a guest to start eating before being told by his host to do so. At a fiesta, it was a grave discourtesy for a guest to leave his plate not wiped clean (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:152, 154).

SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLINGS

361 **Settlements.**—The *Mapuche-Huilliche* lived, not in villages proper, but in settlements. Each settlement was made up of a number, usually small, three to eight or more, of families or households, each in its own dwelling. The households or homesteads were set up within sight of but at appreciable distances from one another—for fear, it was reported earlier, of witchcraft (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:150–51) or of poisoning (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 48)—and each settlement or loose cluster of households was separated by somewhat greater distances from the nearest ones. The settlements were located mostly in valleys or plains along streams and rivers. Generally [621] speaking, each settlement was made up of kin (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285) and had its own cacique. Some of the forts, settlements, or 712 dwellings appear to have been surrounded with a kind of palisade. (Ercilla, canto 1, 1910, p. 8; Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 130; Tribaldos, 1864, p. 21).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[251]

Cooking utensils: 1, Alacalufe girl mixing chili and salt with pestle and mortar; 2, 3, two types of pestle and mortar; 4-6, Frenchies and others of cattle and sheep, generally used for storing salt, chili, and grease. (Figures 3-6 courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.)

[p. 168(B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Bird preparations: a, Cahuilla woman skinning duck's head in preparing mount; b, Alaska woman trimming wings of duck

[p. 188(C)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Making mote from wheat (Collaripe): 1, Collecting ears of wheat. 2, Threshing wheat with the feet. 3, Winnowing the kernels.

[p. 188(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Making mote (continued): 1, Sifting ashes. 2, Pouring sifted ashes into boiling water. 3, Pouring winnowed wheat into boiling water and ashes.

[P. 188(G)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[372]

Making mote (continued): 1, Testing kernels. 2, Cooling cooked kernels. 3, Pouring cooled kernels into a basket.

[p. 188 (H)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Making mole (continued): 1, On the way to the spring to wash ashes off kernels. 2, Washing ashes off kernels. 3, Mote now ready to eat.

[482]

[p. 188(I)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Preparing meat and drinking maté: 1, Lamb or mutton ready to be roasted (Alepúe). 2, Roasting lamb or mutton over an open fireplace (Chan Chan in Alepúe area). 3, Drinking a beverage made of yerba maté (Chan Chan in Alepúe area).

[p. 188 (J)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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sionally money is borrowed from a fellow Araucanian with the agreement, usually, that wheat may be substituted in repayment. 426

A 39-year-old Alepúe man had been told that his father's grandfather and the grandfather's brother, when they were young men, had spent 5 years in Argentina earning money by catching fiandú (emu) and plucking their large feathers, which were in demand for European markets and brought a good price. They caught the fiandú with a boleodora. "It was thrown something like a lasso is thrown today. The bird, by a twist of its head, tried to get away, but in doing so wound the rope around its neck. They also earned money by selling wool they sheared off guanacos, a wild sheeplike animal, and by herding sheep for Argentine owners. For herding sheep, they were paid with half of the newborn lambs. Some Mapuche married in Argentina, and never returned to Chile. Others returned with the money they had earned and bought up land. From then on they were the rich men among the Mapuche." 464

Alepúe children to whom I had given pesos for stories they wrote, for specimens of plants they collected, for running errands, and for being helpful in other ways, were asked by their teacher the following week how they had spent their money. One of the boys had given it to his mother to buy sugar; another had cleared a debt he owed the teacher for a notebook and a pencil; two had bought for themselves a bottle of pop at a fiesta; another had given his to an older brother who bought himself cigarettes with it. One of the girls had bought a handkerchief; another, candy; still another added hers to the money that she was saving to buy a dress. "A child is expected to earn money for its own clothing," noted their teacher. "Girls spin wool which the father then sells and uses the money to buy their clothes."

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

COOKERY, IMPLEMENTS, FOOD, MEALS

Foods are eaten uncooked, boiled, roasted, and baked. Cooking today, as formerly, is done over a fire maintained in a shallow hollow in the earth floor of the ruka, or in the ground, if cooking is done outdoors, as it usually is when the weather permits. On two sides of the fireplace, usually at right angles, level with the floor or ground, stones are laid. A few of these are large flat ones that serve as a table for the cook, and also as a place on which to keep food warm. The stones about the fireplace serve as heaters when the fire is only smoldering—"it feels comfortable to sit near one on a cold, damp day." The location of the fireplace in the ruka is between the door 252 354

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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and the middle of the ruka to prevent heating the back section of the ruka where potatoes and wheat are usually stored. No family in the areas studied had a factory-made stove, nor even an improvised one.

Firewood may be either split wood of desired lengths—piles of it were seen near a few ruka—or dried tree stumps, or a log several yards long. One end of the log is placed in the fire and shoved along as it burns down. Tree stumps are preferred for in-between-cooking fires because they burn slowly and long. All wood is laid at the edge of the fire, never on top of it.

Ulmo, because it is a hard, nearly smokeless wood, is preferred as firewood. Other woods used are roble chileno, coihüe, and olivillo. The last is the least desirable as it creates so much smoke. In Boroa area, a nearly treeless region, large quantities of driftwood are collected in spring after the floods of rivers fed by mountain streams have subsided. Should a Boroa area family run short of firewood before the driftwood is available, it will fell trees found on the banks of streams in the area; this wood, however, is usually not the smokeless kind.

According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 718) a hand drill was used in the early days to start a fire: the hearth was held on the ground by the feet while the drill was twirled with the hands. Flint and steel, and then matches, followed the hand drill. A 70-year-old Panguipulli man had never seen a fire started except with matches, which are being used in all areas today.

Kettles used in cooking are hung over the fireplace, either from a raft suspended from the rafters, 5 to 6 feet above the fire, or from a horizontal pole supported at each end by poles planted in the floor on opposite sides of the fireplace. The position of the horizontal pole is in line with the length of the ruka. In several small ruka the pole had been fastened to scantlings that supported the roof. The raft, usually square, is made of boards or saplings. Crossbars of boards or sapling are tied to the frame with voqui.

Kettles are suspended from the end of a chain or a stout wire. If a wire is used, its ends are bent to form hooks, the upper one being placed over the pole or raft and the kettle hung on the lower one. If a chain is used, the lower part of a stout S-shaped wire is placed into the upper link of the chain and the upper part over the pole or raft. A second S-shaped wire is used to suspend the kettle from any link along the chain, depending on how near to the fire the kettle is to be. A chain with S-shaped wires is preferred because of the adjustability to various heights.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Foods such as meat and fish and the stomach of sheep are slung over the raft or pole and there dried or smoked. Bunches of corn on the cob were seen astride the crossbars, and foods that must be kept dry, such as salt and flour, hung from them in containers. 251

Implements, probably traditional ones, used in the preparation and serving of food were seen in many households. Among them were wooden spoons, ladles, bowls, tumblers, mauls, and mortars; stone mortars, pestles, metates, and mullers; earthenware ones, such as cántaros and ollas; those made of parts of animals, such as cups, spoons, containers, and sieves; and those woven of plant fibers, namely, baskets and winnowing trays. All the above are made "by those who know how; not every family makes its own. One must have not only the intelligence to make them, but one must know how to make them and have the implements with which to make them." "I know how to make them," said the 52-year-old man, "but I do not have the necessary tools to do so." Kitchen implements of non-Araucanian origin in use were the 3-footed iron kettle, found in every ruka; knives and spoons; enamel or porcelain cups, plates, pitchers, and bowls; dishpans of tin; galvanized pails; and both iron and copper teakettles. 252 415

Of wooden utensils (pl. 42), spoons (pichana) are approximately 16 to 22 inches in length and have either a round or oval-shaped scoop 1 to 2 inches deep. These are used for stirring and for dipping foods. Stirring is also done with sticks of hard wood (wütrü). Wooden ladles (rəshwe) are used for lifting hot foods, such as tortillas. Wooden bowls (ral'i) serve primarily as nonleakable dishes. They were seen being used for washing meat and vegetables, mixing food, soaking wash, carrying just-dyed hot yarn, threshing grain by feet, and for storage. Bowls are hewn out of cross sections of tree trunks big enough to permit two handles, and are from 6 to 9 inches in depth. The openings of round ones approximate 15 to 18 inches in diameter; trapezoidal ones, 12 by 18 to 15 by 22 inches. Wooden tumblers are used, today, exclusively for drinking mudai at the gillatun. A wooden tumbler exhibited in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (specimen No. 460) is 5 inches in height, nearly 3 inches in depth, and 2½ inches in diameter at the opening. The maul (trawaunalcamwe), a piece of wood cut down to form a ball-like club at the end of a handle, is used for cracking or breaking bones, for jerking meats, cracking araucaria pine nuts, and for other similar operations.

Mortars (tranachadwe or katankura) and pestles (kudi) (pl. 43, *1, 2, 3*) were used to grind and mix condiments, especially salt and chili. A few mortars were of wood; generally they are of lava stone, 252 412

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252 412 sandstone, or stone grooved by water action; an occasional mortar in use today was plowed up—"it probably belonged to people who lived here before we came." The general shape of mortars varies, but the bowls of all are approximately 3 inches in depth. The one shown in plate 43, *2*, was made of lingue and had four nails driven into the bottom of its bowl to facilitate grinding mixtures. Pestles were smooth, elongated stones. "I picked up the one we use on the shores of the Pacific while walking there one day."

In Alepúe area, metates and mullers are shaped out of rock taken from ledges on the Pacific shore and are also given the required surface finish "by a family, the only one in all this area, who makes and sells them; this family has stone of the required texture on land near its ruka. It takes skill to make a metate and muller; each requires a different kind of roughness." Metates are trapezoidal in shape. A muller is an elongated stone, long enough to extend beyond the metate so the ends may be grasped when the muller is being used. The muller must have a rough, flat lower side and a slightly convex upper side. All edges of metate and muller are rounded. Metates generally approximate 15 to 20 inches in length, 11 to 13 inches in width, and 2 inches in thickness.

One of my informants prepared to grind wheat in a metate (pl. 44, *3*) by placing a dressed sheep pelt, reserved for this purpose, on the ground outside of her ruka, and on it the metate with widest end toward her. This end she raised by putting a small piece of wood under it. "It all depends on the worker, how high she wants it raised; I like mine raised this high," she commented. The narrow end rested on the pelt. She knelt down, took a handful of wheat from a winnowing tray nearby (she had just winnowed the grain to remove the last remnants of chaff), dropped the kernels on the metate, grasped the ends of the muller, put her weight on the muller and worked it up and down over the kernels, occasionally pushing the grain toward the middle of the metate. When a portion of the wheat was ground to the desired fineness, she allowed it to fall off the sides onto the pelt. The muller was never lifted from the metate. "Why should it be? I am grinding the wheat under it!" Toasted wheat was ground in the same manner.

252 415 The olla (challa), a potlike piece of pottery, is used in cooking; the cántaro (mefikuwe), a pitcherlike type (pl. 45), not sufficiently fired for cooking purposes, is used for holding water and other liquids. More cántaros than ollas were in use in households at the time of the present study. Ollas have been largely replaced by iron kettles, but several women were using ollas for storing food. Iron kettles (in-

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formants not infrequently called them ollas) varied in depth from 6 to 14 inches; all were of equal diameter. The dependency on iron kettles for cooking was expressed by an Alepúe woman who borrowed one from a neighbor: "I have no olla; I broke ours. What a tragedy! My husband says every storekeeper in San José de Mariquina and Valdivia tells him there is none to be had any more because of the World War. Those cántaros [pointing at galvanized pails and enameled dishes] cannot stand the heat of the fireplace. I shall have to make an olla of clay, it seems." No pottery plates or cups were being made, but women had heard old people say that they were made in former times. Any cups and spoons made today are of horn of oxen, as formerly. The horn is either boiled in water or buried in hot ashes until soft, usually for several hours. If cups are desired, the tip of the horn is cut off and the remainder cut into desired sections. The narrower end of each section is then plugged with a piece of wood. Such cups exhibited in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (Nos. 461, 462) were 3 to 5½ inches deep. If a spoon is desired, the horn is cut lengthwise, flattened, and carved into the desired shape. Formerly an unusually large horn in its natural state was used as a water carrier on long journeys. Cow udders and paunches were used for storing salt, chili, and grease (pl. 43, *4, 5, 6*). They were thoroughly cleaned and distended by hand while drying. The opening was fastened to a band of wood, and a strip of rawhide formed the handle.

Flour of a fine texture was sifted through a cheda, a sieve made by stretching taut a piece of perforated rawhide over a circular band of wood. A lacing passed through holes poked in the rim of the hide and the middle of the band kept both in position. "My husband made this cheda," said a woman, as she took one off a peg in her ruka. "He used horsehide for both sieve and thongs. The band is of avellano, a wood that bends more easily than any other wood does. Avellano wood becomes pliable if held over a fire for a short time. My husband used a hot iron for poking the holes into the sieve and the band. Cheda are usually the size of this one" (11 inches in diameter and 3 inches deep).

Coarse flour is sifted through a loosely woven small basket, called chaiwe (pl. 46, *5*). Chaiwe are used also for straining ashes off mote (wheat cooked in ashes) and for filtering chicha made of fruits and corn. In fact, its use in general is that of sieve, strainer, drainer, or filterer. Usually, when being used it is hung on a peg in a tilted position. A rawhide strap, attached to the rim in handlelike fashion, keeps the chaiwe from slipping on the peg. Attaching the strap at points only a little apart keeps the chaiwe tilted. A chaiwe can also be dipped up and down in water to rid its contents of soluble sub-

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stances. Occasionally a chaiwe, like all baskets, is used for storage; chaff-free uncooked wheat and toasted wheat were seen so stored.

Baskets with handles (külko) (pl. 46, *4*) are used for carrying and for storage; trays (llepü) (pls. 44, *2*; 46, *3*), for winnowing wheat, dried beans, and peas, or "anything that needs to be winnowed."

Cooper writes regarding noncultivated food plants which were part of the Araucanian diet: "The number of distinct species of wild plants exploited, a good many of them intensively, as food sources was very large, totaling probably a good 75 to 100." One of his sources, an Araucanian, listed nearly 50 plants. Among plants listed by Cooper are roots and tubers, rhizomes of a fern, fruits and berries, apples (post-Columbian), nuts, seeds, leaves and greens, mushrooms and algae (1946, p. 702).

In all the areas I visited, non-Araucanian herbalists knew that wild plants formed a substantial part of the Araucanian diet today. Children like to eat fresh berries and uncooked fruits and roots of certain plants, and many were seen at school with teeth blackened from the blue-black fruit of the maqui and the berries of michai and chakaiwa. They also relish the fresh fruit of mitahue, chaura, and chupón. A child will reach into the spiney bush of chupón, get hold of a blade near its roots and pull it out, draw the root end between the teeth to sever the fruit, suck the juice, and spit out the seeds. "Their juice is sweet; just try some." Children are also fond of eating the peeled, uncooked root of the rhubarblike nalca, and the stem, just above the root, of a large fern called helecho grande.

The core and the stem of the helecho grande is dried, ground fine, and boiled in water (or, recently, in milk), and eaten as a thick soup. In Panguipulli, wild plants cooked in meat broth or in stews are green leaves of yuyo and dried powdered flowers of circuelillu. Tubers of the wild potato (papa), are sometimes collected, but those of láwü, and of koifüñ (not identified) are no longer used. The wild potato is often crossed with cultivated ones by putting pieces or small whole ones of both kinds into each hill. "In another season this mixture produces a large potato, sweeter than the ordinary cultivated one. If the wild potato is planted alone, it does not produce well," said the informant.

Tomillo, a wild plant, is used as a condiment. So are two cultivated plants borrowed from Chileans—peppermint (yerba buena) and orégano. The most common condiment is a mixture of salt and chili. Today salt is bought in Chilean stores, but Cofiaripe informants remembered when it was obtained from Araucanians who lived where it was found in caves. Families along the Pacific formerly cooked in

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222 wheat has been harvested, usually this is in April. Strong winds begin at that time; early falling of nuts depends upon the wind. May, too, is a good month, but after May, snows come, and one cannot find the nuts; if not all have been collected because of early snows, they can be gotten in October when the snow melts. Chileans eat the araucaria nut uncooked; very few Mapuche do. Mapuche remove the hulls by roasting the nuts in hot ashes and coals—this causes them to pop out of their hulls—or we boil them in water, after which the hulls are easily removed by hand. If the harvest is large, we roast them and string them and hang them up in the ruka. Later they are boiled and eaten. They are not mixed with anything. They are a rich food, and one cannot eat many at one time. A nut is about so long" (indicating the distance from tip to first knuckle of little finger).

[263] Wild honey is collected from trees and used in sweetening foods, but every household today supplements it with sugar bought in Chilean stores. Quoting a 19-year-old Cofiaripe girl: "My father gets wild honey today like the Mapuche have always gotten it, he told me. On a windy day, he walks among the trees on the mountainsides and looks for a tree around the top of which bees are buzzing. A few steps away from the foot of this tree, in the windward direction, he builds a fire. The wind will take the smoke toward the tree then. Bees cannot tolerate smoke, and so they either fly away, or die. When there are no longer any bees about the tree, he fells it, splits it in halves, lengthwise, removes the honey and brings it home." The girl's mother then told that at home the honey is put into cántaros and is set close to the fire to be thoroughly heated, after which it is set to cool. The wax which collects at the top while it is cooling is removed. If foreign substances, such as leaves and twigs, are seen in the honey—"maybe the man had a difficult time getting the honey, for bees can be mean"—the honey freed of its wax is again thoroughly heated and then strained through a suspended chaiwe from which the honey drips into a container placed below it.

262 Of cultivated plants wheat is the essential one; it is a basic food in the Araucanian diet. Four traditional dishes are prepared from it: tortillas (chapalkoshke), mote (kako kachillo), catuto (maltrun or mal'a), and toasted wheat (koponoüwa).

252 Tortillas are made of flour mixed with water, eggs, and salt. A handful of dough is flattened to desired thickness by being tossed from hand to hand and is then baked directly on or in hot ashes at the fireside.

Mote is a favorite dish. "It is exclusively a Mapuche dish," said a woman; "every mother sees to it that all her daughters learn how to

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prepare it." In making it (pls. 47-50), an informant scattered handfuls of wheat into a kettle in which ashes had been boiling in water for some time and occasionally stirred. Choice ashes are those of olivillo, lingue, and laurel común; next best are those of roble chileno and ulmo, "in fact ashes of any hard wood (pelliñ) can be used; not so the ashes of canelo or of rotted wood." Ashes have to be at least a month old, and are powdered and sifted before being used. 252

The mixture of ashes and wheat is boiled and occasionally stirred, and at intervals the kernels are tested. Progress is being made when hulls come off the kernels as they are being rubbed between the palms of the hands. When the kernels separate into halves when pressed between the fingers, they are sufficiently cooked. A small amount of cold water is then added and the contents of the kettle poured into a chaiwe to be drained. To hasten drainage the contents is stirred and the chaiwe shaken back and forth and up and down. This done, the mixture is poured into a wooden dish to cool. The informant stirred it with both hands to bring hot kernels to the surface.

When sufficiently cooled, the informant halved the contents and loosened the hulls of each half by working the kernels with her feet in a wooden dish. This done, she poured the entire mass into the chaiwe again, took it to the source of drinking water—a pool fed by several springs and emptying into a river nearby—and freed the kernels of ashes and hulls by first pouring pailfuls of water over them in the chaiwe and then dipping the chaiwe up and down just under the surface of the water in a deeper part of the pool. At intervals she stirred the kernels with her hand. Soon she brought the chaiwe out of the pool and, putting it on the ground, straddled the handle and again worked the kernels with her feet. This done, she took the chaiwe back into the pool and let water seep into it, thus bringing to the top any foreign elements mixed with the wheat. To remove these she moved slowly out of the water, backwards, keeping the chaiwe slightly submerged. She walked home and cooked the kernels in clear water. Her mother tasted them and found them to her liking. Had they retained the taste of ashes, they would have been boiled again, but this time with a twig of maqui, "for maqui eliminates the taste of ashes," and a thorough washing will eliminate the taste of maqui. The informant served her mote to the family in cold, honey-sweetened water; the writer, her field assistant, and her interpreter, upon their return home, relished theirs in honey-sweetened milk. Mote is also served in broth and in chicha. Occasionally it is dried for future use.

Catuto are made as follows: Dry ashes and dry kernels of wheat are placed in a wooden dish and worked with the feet until kernels

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252 are freed of hulls. Chaff and ashes are then winnowed off and the kernels poured into a chalwe and thoroughly washed at the source of drinking water to remove all ashes. The kernels are then boiled in clear water, drained of all water in a chalwe, and kept warm near the fire until mealtime when the woman will mash the kernels with muller on metate and form the whole into a flattened cigar-shaped roll, also with the muller. A catuto may be 7 inches long and 3 inches in diameter at the middle. If it is then prepared for serving in the old way, the whole catuto, or crosswise slices of it, are baked under hot ashes at the fireside; a more recent way is to fry slices in lard.

Toasted wheat is a favorite dish of children, who eat it mixed with a little water sweetened with sugar or honey. Adults prefer it cooked in salted water and mixed with grease. When preparing to toast wheat, clean sand is obtained from the shores of running water, put into a kettle (formerly an olla) and set directly into the fire. When the sand is "as hot as it can get," kernels of wheat are added and the wheat and sand continuously stirred with two wooden spoons, one in each hand. Kernels turn brown and burst open and come to the top. As soon as they have browned to one's liking, they are skimmed off with a small wooden dish and poured into a large wooden one. While one person continues to toast, another shakes the large dish gently back and forth and sidewise, slightly tilted away from himself. The shaking brings the kernels to the top; the tilting allows them to fall off into a container.

An older procedure for toasting wheat—one no longer used—was to put the wheat into a pottery container known as a lupe, made especially for the purpose, and then adding exceedingly hot sand. Stirring was as described above. As the kernels were toasted, they fell over the edge of the lupe, which was slightly tilted; the sand being heavier remained in the lupe. Dexterity was required in manipulating the stirring, however.

[262] Potatoes (papa) are an important food. They are eaten baked, boiled, and fermented. To bake them they are well heated on hot coals in the fireplace and then each is placed into a small hole dug in hot ashes. Potatoes so baked are called kuen poñü. Boiled potatoes are generally eaten in thick soups and stews, such as caldos and cazuelas, or are boiled with fresh vegetables. Near a ruka, peas just brought from a garden were shelled, cooked, and poured into a kettle in which potatoes and meat were boiling; a mixture of salt and chili was used to season the food. Some families eat boiled potatoes well drenched with meat drippings.

A favorite traditional dish is funa poñü, fermented potato. Most

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families ferment potatoes. It is done in the following manner: At 252
the time of the potato harvest, a man and his older sons find a place at the edge of a brook where flowing water can be either diverted or dyked off until they have dug a hole and filled it with potatoes. The size of the hole depends on the potato crop. "Ours is usually about so wide [double arm stretch], if the crop is good." The bottom of the hole and all sides are lined with one or several layers of ratonero, leaves of maqui, or ferns—none of which affects the flavor of the potatoes. As soon as the hole is lined, it is well filled with potatoes cleaned of all dirt, and then covered with the same kind of vegetation used in lining the hole. All is weighted down with stones, and the water then led back to its course, to flow over the potatoes. In due time, the water will have seeped to the bottom of the hole and surrounded all the potatoes. As the potatoes ferment, scum rises to the top and is carried away by the brook. A minimum of two months is required for fermentation in Alepúe área; in Cofiaripe area, only a month. Informants thought it took less time in Cofiaripe area because the valleys there are warmer than those of the Coastal Range. Occasionally someone of the family goes to the place to see if all is in order and to test the potatoes. A few potatoes are removed. If they are white and floury (chuño or liq poñü) they are ready to be eaten; from then on a supply is taken when desired. They are thoroughly washed of slime that has collected on them, and are eaten either raw or cooked in water—sometimes in sweetened water. Peelings may be removed before or after cooking. On the day the above information was obtained, the interpreter happened upon a woman in a potato hole. She was handing out potatoes to several Araucanians at the rim who were buying them from her. She had a special variety, a long white potato which, the woman said, is best for fermenting.

Beef, mutton, lamb, pork, and chicken are staple meats today. An 262
occasional dish is the meat of wild birds, principally the jilguero and chanchito. Less frequently the meat of puma is eaten. Horse meat has never been a staple food, but occasionally it was eaten at the marriage feast and at burials. Dog meat was never eaten.

Mutton and lamb are the meats most frequently eaten. Beef comes next. Chicken is an in-between dish. Pork is eaten when a pig must be killed to replenish the lard supply. Lard is stored; so are tallow of beef and mutton. Meat is not stored, but a supply beyond the [251]
needs of the day of slaughter is cut into pieces and slung over the fire raft or hung on hooks over the fire to dry and be smoked. In hot weather it may be rubbed down slightly with salt before being smoked. Such meat is eaten within a few days following slaughter.

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252 Lamb is generally roasted. Mutton, pork, and fowl are cut into small pieces and used in stews and thick soups. Certain cuts of beef are roasted; less desirable ones are made into stews; or their essence is extracted by cooking and made into thick soups. Jerked beef is broiled and then fried. Puma, too, is roasted.

An informant showed us how lamb was prepared and roasted, and said that all other meat was roasted in the same manner. He broke the ribs in several places with a maul and then cut both ribs and meat into long strips. Next he poked the sharpened end of a pole through each strip of meat, twirling it in spiral fashion as he did so, leaving all sides of the meat exposed (pl. 51, *1*). In roasting it, he rested the sharpened end of the pole on a stone at the fireside and held the other end so high that the meat was just above the glowing coals (pl. 51, *2*). He rotated the pole by hand almost continuously, so that the meat would be roasted on all sides.

Stews and soups are made from cuts of beef not desired for roasting. The meat, cut into small pieces, is cooked with the bones until the essence has been extracted. The meat is then given to the dogs, the bones are cracked open with a maul, and the marrow is taken out and returned to the broth. Potatoes and/or vegetables are then added to thicken the broth, and salt mixed with chili to season it; other seasonings are added, if desired. Mutton and fowl stews are made in the same manner.

251 Jerked beef (the ajim ilo of the Araucanians, and the charqui of Chileans) was prepared at home by one of the informants because it was an easy way to take the family's meat supply to the harvest fields, a day's journey away. "Harvesting will take a few days and we cannot take time out to slaughter an animal then," she explained. She cut one continuous thin slice from a large boneless piece of beef, rubbed salt well into one side of it, made a roll of it, and let it lie for 2 days and 2 nights. Then she unrolled it and let it hang in the sun for a day, rubbed salt into the unsalted side, folded the piece, and let it lie for a day and a night. The following morning she examined the piece to find soft spots in it. Into these she pounded salt with a maul. During the night preceding the day on which she intended to prepare it for a meal, she let it lie in water which she kept lukewarm on one of the flat stones close to the fire. "This will take the salt out of it," she commented; "no one wants all that salt in it. And there 251 is no need seasoning that meat with salt when you cook it." It is 252 thoroughly washed then and boiled until tender, when it is pounded into small pieces with a maul and dropped piece by piece into sizzling grease. After it has fried a little, thick slices of onions are added.

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When done, it is eaten with boiled potatoes or tortillas. "Or, if you do not like onions, you can do this: after the meat has fried a short time, add a mixture of mashed boiled potatoes, very finely cut onions and chili and any other seasoning you may like, maybe tomillo or orégano; I add tomillo, sometimes." 251 252

A favorite dish is spiced lung of sheep or lamb. While the animal is still breathing, it is hung up by the head, its lungs are filled with a mixture of salt, chili, and a wild root called lioto. This bloats the lungs and the animal finally dies. A lung so bloated was seen hanging on a wall in an Alepún ruka. The lungs are then removed and hung up until the following day. The seasoning has now penetrated all fibers. The lungs are then cooked whole, and eaten with relish. 252

The coagulated blood of sheep and lambs at slaughtering time is seasoned with a mixture of salt, chili, and onions, and then either fried, or cooked with vegetables, and eaten immediately. "Anyone who happens to be around is invited to eat of it; we call it fachi."

Stomach and entrails of sheep and lambs are eaten fresh or smoked. An informant was met at a river where she had cleaned and washed the entrails, stomach, and pelt of a sheep which her husband had slaughtered earlier that morning. At home she boiled the entrails and stomach, and then scraped the lining of the stomach with a knife, boiled all again, and asked in a friendly way: "These are ready now to be eaten; would you like some?" The pelt she had hung on a fence to dry.

Stomachs of sheep were seen stretched on crosslike frames and hung over fireplaces. "I shall cook these for my family tomorrow," said one woman. Head, tongue, and feet of sheep were scraped of skin, cooked, and eaten. A woman who was cleaning some was swishing a chairee containing them back and forth in the current of a river. "I want them fresh of every bit of flavor," she remarked.

Women, today, occasionally make Chilean empanadas. They consist of finely chopped seasoned mutton encased in tortilla dough. One woman made half-moon-shaped ones for sale at a fiesta, and fellow Araucanians favored her with purchases. She pounded the dough flat with her wrist, dropped a tablespoonful of the meat seasoned with a mixture of salt, chili, and onion greens on it, folded the dough, pressed the edges together with her thumb and impressed them with a bone-comb serrated wheel carved out of flattened horn. The field assistant thought of zigzag braid when she saw the edge. As the woman finished an empanada, she dropped it into a kettle of boiling [415]

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●252 hard. When sufficiently cooked, it came to the top and was removed by the woman's sister with a spadelike wooden implement (rafwe).

[262] Butter and milk are not part of the Araucanian diet; there is not even an Araucanian word for either—Spanish words are used when speaking of them. Cheese, known by the Spanish word queso, is eaten by many families today. The making of it was undoubtedly learned from non-Araucanians. The evening preceding cheese making, cows are corralled near the ruka so that they can be milked in the morning. An Alepüe woman took two pails of whole milk still slightly warm (or if it had cooled, she heated it a little) and poured into it, as rennet, the water she had drained off a fermented sheep stomach. The stomach had been in water close to the fire, but not boiling, since the morning of the previous day. In place of water whey is sometimes used. "The stomach was one I had dried over the fire and stored." The milk thickens as soon as rennet, whey, or water is poured into it. After an hour the mixture is worked with the hands, and is then poured into a sack, "like a flour sack," and hung to drain. By the time the dripping ends, the cheese has formed. It is then washed in salted lukewarm water or a mixture of salt and chili is worked into it to one's liking. This done, it is again poured into a sack and pressed between two boards. Heavy stones are used as weights. After two days the cheese is removed from the sack and exposed to air and sun so as to give all sides a thick covering.

[263] Fish and shellfish, according to Cooper's sources, formed part of the Araucanian diet, along the Pacific in the early days (1946, p. 705). They are an important dietary element in Alepüe and Boroa areas today; and to some degree fish, but no shellfish, are eaten in Panguipulli and Cofiaripe areas, where they are taken from fresh waters of Andean streams. Fish taken from the Pacific are the corbina (kolükalen), the sierra (sawfish), and the robalo (haddock; kudwa). A species of mackerel (kauki) is taken in Andean streams.

252 Entrails of fish are removed by fishermen upon landing; heads are removed at home. In large hauls women assist with the cleaning. Fish are either cooked in water seasoned with salt and chili, or are baked or roasted. If baked or roasted, the lining of the visceral cavity is rubbed with salt and chili. Baking is done directly on coals in the fireplace—the fish are not rolled into leaves. Roasting is done by hanging the fish over a fire from a leaning stick which has been poked through the back of the fish. An oversupply of fish is sun-dried or slightly smoked and eaten soon thereafter, cooked with salt and chili.

Women on the Pacific coast prepare favorite shellfish dishes from loko, macha, mafilhue, ariao, and piure. Loko are dropped into boiling

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water, and when the shells drop off, they are removed and strung on a strand of fiocha for easier handling—"they are very slippery animals." They are then twirled around in hot ashes at the fireplace, and each one is well pounded with a maul or a stone. After this the ashes are washed off and the loko is either fried in deep fat, roasted directly on hot coals, or cooked as stew. If a larger number has been collected than can be eaten at one meal, the surplus, after having been ashed and pounded, is either sold fresh to non-Araucanians or is prepared for drying for future use. In both cases stringing must be more carefully done to preserve them: the round end of one loko must touch the narrow end of the one next to it, which is tipped with a hard shell-like substance; if round ends touch each other they will pack and spoil. So strung, they are hung on the raft of the fireplace to dry. Araucanians will eat them cooked in stews. Non-Araucanians serve them in several ways: deep fried, cut into small pieces and cooked with vegetables as stews, chopped fine in empanadas, or pickled in vinegar and onions and served as an entrée. 252

Mañihue are sometimes baked in the shell in the fireplace; more often they are boiled in water until they leave the shell. Being tender, they need not be pounded like the loko. If eaten immediately, they are deep fried or cooked as stew; if not, they are prepared and dried in the same manner as the loko. An Araucanian family gave shelter one stormy night to my interpreter and a companion, both non-Araucanians away from home. For their evening meal the woman in the ruka fed them mañihue. "The little heads with the horns had not been removed," commented the interpreter. "My companion said those little horned heads nauseated her. I insisted, 'We must eat them or we may offend these people.' But she managed to pinch them off and slip them to the cat."

Ariso are baked in their shell in contact with hot coals. When well done, the upper part of the shell is cut off, and the substance eaten from the remaining shell. Piure are eaten from the shell, also. They are either baked on hot coals or well boiled in water. "Piure are very good to eat," said a little girl; "they have sea water inside of themselves. They are a pretty color, too, after they are boiled."

Seaweeds used as food by families living near the Pacific are luche and cochayuyo. Luche grows to a height of about 2 inches on the tops of rocks close to the shores of the Pacific. "It looks as though it had been sowed there." It is easily pulled off and is collected when the tide is low. It is prepared for eating by rolling it into leaves of nalca to form small bundles. Each bundle is tied tight with strands of fiocha, then put into a shallow hole made outside the ruka, covered [222 262]

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Chile

252 with earth, and an active fire kept burning over them all day. In time for the evening meal, the luche is removed from the leaves and cooked in water until well done. It is then either added to a caldo, usually meat broth with potatoes, or is deep fried and eaten with boiled potatoes. Cochayuyo is collected at low tide by women. They can be seen standing on the shore, each pulling at one until it is released from its roots. Cochayuyo is tied into small bundles, cooked, and eaten either deep fried or in a caldo.

271 Drinking water—uncontaminated, clear, and clean—is taken from springs. Springs are found at the upper ends of ravines, on worn-down sides of hills, or in brooks or rivers, where one can see them bubbling up. Ruka are built only where springs exist. No family in the areas studied had a well. Water is carried to the ruka in cántaros [857] or pails. Children usually fetch it.

272 At the end of a meal a beverage known as yerba maté is taken by all adults and many children (pl. 51, *3*). This drink was only recently 177 introduced among Araucanians. A 60-year-old Cofiaripe woman remembered when an Araucanian man first taught them how to drink it; he had learned to do so in Argentina. "This was during the First World War. Little by little the Mapoche began to drink it. I drank the first yerba maté when my eldest son was a baby; he is now 26 years old. We buy packages of it in Temuco, Villarrica, and Loncoche." It is made by pouring boiling water on the leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*, a non-Araucanian commercial product imported from Argentina and Paraguay. Usually it is prepared for drinking in a [815] dried gourd; sometimes in a spherical porcelain cup, called maté. In either case it is sipped slowly through a bombilla. If the beverage is preferred sweetened, sugar is mixed with the herb before the boiling water is poured on it.

273 If chicha, a fermented juice made of grains, fruits, or berries, or wild apples (manzanas silvestre) or cultivated ones, is at hand, it is usually drunk in place of yerba maté. Both homemade and commercial chicha is taken. Cooper's sources listed maize, quinoa, araucaria nuts, and, in later times, wheat and barley as being used in making fermented beverages; also berries and fruits, such as molle (*Schinus latifolius*), maqui, myrtle berries, strawberries (frutilla, *Fragaria chilensis*), and, in more recent times, apples, pears, quinces, and potatoes (1946, p. 741). Today Araucanians who wish to make chicha generally use the juice of apples or the berries of maqui or voqui colorado. Some old people use wheat, or berries other than those of maqui. Usually this beverage is consumed before it reaches the stage of alcoholic fermentation.

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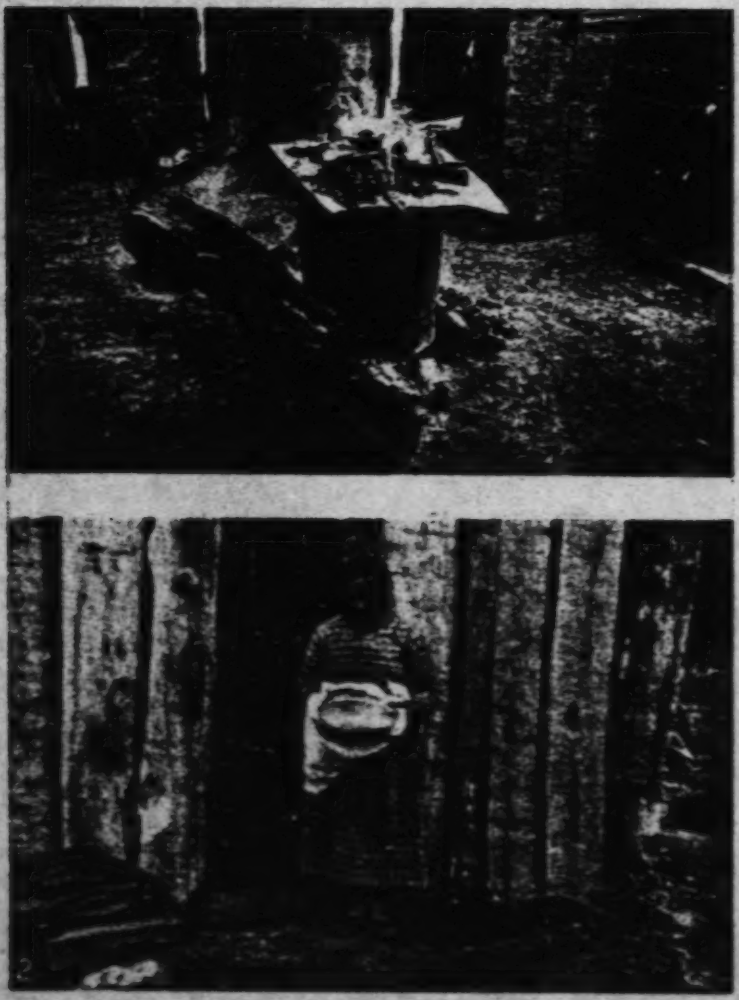

Baking bread (Trumpul): 1, An improvised bake oven—an oil drum. 2, A loaf of bread baked in the oven.

[p. 316 (D)]

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1, Carrying home a pail of water gotten at the spring in the shaded area to the girl's left (Pilpil). 2, Water being boiled over an open fireplace inside the dwelling (Quincamtu). 3, Araucaria pines from cones of which seeds, a staple food, are obtained. Umbrella-shaped ones are cone-bearing; others are too young to bear. (Lago Lolog.)

[p. 316(E)]

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Children by themselves, however, fished as their elders did. Today fishing may be done only by those who hold a permit issued by the Argentine Government. 226 [857]

Formerly a bivalve shellfish called macha was collected by women and children. It lay, unattached, between stones along the shores of lakes.

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION, COOKING IMPLEMENTS, MEALS

In the early days meat of wild animals was the main food. Chief among these were the guanaco and rhea; puma and armadillo were also favorite meats. In more recent years, the wild horse, also, was captured for food. 262

A favorite dish was raw guanaco meat, still warm, especially the heart and kidneys. Guanaco blood, or the blood of any large animal, was caught during the slaughtering of the animal, mixed with salt and chili, and when coagulated eaten as a delicacy. Another favorite dish was seasoned guanaco lung, known as apoll. Whenever a guanaco was caught alive, it was suspended by the mouth by means of a strap, and its trachea and an adjoining vein were cut. At intervals spoonfuls of salt and chili were poured into the trachea. The guanaco, gasping for air, caused the salt and chili and also blood from the vein to go into the air passage of the lungs. When the lungs were filled with blood and seasoning, the guanaco was killed. The lungs were removed, drawn back and forth through boiling water several times, and then stuck on a pole for everyone to help himself. "We make apoll today from the lung of a lamb, sheep, calf, or goat; apoll is really delicious." 252

Guanaco meat was also broiled in small pieces close to an open fire. Each piece hung off a spit firmly planted slantwise in the ground. Other meats broiled in the same manner were puma, wild boar, huemul, pudú, and horse. Meats of all kinds were also cooked with wild grain—in more recent years with cultivated grains and vegetables—and eaten as stews. Dog meat was not served as food, but meat of a dog younger than one year was eaten to alleviate stomach ailments. An oversupply of meat was stored as jerked meat (ajim filo). It was cut into thin slices, salt was pounded well into each slice, and then all slices were hung in the sun and air to dry. [251]

A rhea (pl. 74, *3*) was plucked of its feathers and its skin removed without tearing it. The meat was removed, finely chopped, a mixture of salt and chili worked into it with both hands, and then returned to the skin. The skin with its contents was placed on hot stones at the

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252 edge of the fireplace where it was constantly rotated to insure even cooking and to keep the skin from scorching. When the top surface of a stone cooled off, it was turned to bring another hot side up. Rhea meat thus prepared was given to a child as one of its first solid foods. "It was nourishing food, too, for old persons." Other fowl were plucked, visceral contents removed, and either cooked with wild vegetables or roasted on hot stones near the fire.

Armadillo is prepared today as it was formerly. Its visceral cavity is emptied, filled with hot stones, and the animal placed with back down on a good supply of hot coals within an ellipse made of stones. A fire is built within the ellipse well ahead of time, to supply the hot coals needed.

Today, to a large extent, mutton, lamb, beef, and pork have replaced the meats of wild animals. Horse meat is an occasional dish. Meat is usually roasted or stewed; occasionally it is fried in grease. Sometimes the fresh underside of an animal is wrapped around vegetables and roasted on stones near the fireplace. Rabbit meat is held in boiling water for a short time and then fried in grease with onions. When a large number of persons must be fed, as at a wake, a pig or cow is barbecued in its hide.

Fish are prepared today as they were formerly, by emptying the visceral cavity and then either cooking them in a small quantity of water seasoned with salt and chili or baking them on hot stones at the edge of the fireplace. Fish are also fried in grease.

Formerly, fish not immediately consumed had entrails removed and were dried. Puyen (none is longer than 5 inches) were dried in the sun; cauque and peladilla were collected on thin colihue stalks, which were poked through the eyes, and hung over the fireplace. Perca were staked, and also hung over the fireplace to dry. There was no intention of smoking the fish; nor were they salted.

Macha (shellfish) were boiled in water until valves sprung apart. The meat was removed, cut into pieces, and mixed with finely cut onions and garlic (ajo).

263 317 Chief traditional seasonings for foods were salt, chili, and garlic; more recently cilantro and onions have been added to these. Sugar, too, is a recent addition. "In fact, we did not use sugar until we began to drink yerba maté," said a 70-year-old man. "It was brought up here from Bahia Blanca and Buenos Aires." Salt was formerly collected early in spring before the first rainfall, for "once it rained upon it, it lost some of its savor." Several men together went in search of it. Kolupan, who had searched for it, said "Look for it in low places; there it will be found in crystal form." "We got our salt from a

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lagoon in the River Negro," said another old man. "I went there one time with others, when I was young, and we brought home sackfuls on horseback. Sacks were of hide then. That was long before there were any trucks in this area." 263 317

In the early days grease was used less frequently than it is today. Any animal fat may be used, but horse grease is a favorite. 262

Eggs of chicken and waterfowl were eaten raw or cooked. If raw, they were either sucked through an opening at one end of the shell or the shell was completely emptied into the mouth at one time. Today, chicken eggs are eaten raw, scrambled, fried in grease, or cooked in an empty rhea eggshell—as many as a dozen chicken eggs can be cooked in such a shell. 252

Rhea eggs were, and are today, scrambled in their shells and then cooked in them. One end of the shell is peeled off, the yolk and white stirred into a mixture with a stick, and salt added to one's taste. The shell is then set close to the edge of the fire, and either the contents stirred with a little stick at intervals or the shell repeatedly turned to insure thorough cooking. "A well-cooked rhea egg is delicious, but it takes a long time to cook one," said an old woman. "When our men return from sheep shearing—they are now shearing them on the estancias—they will bring with them some rhea eggs." She then told the following: "People look for rhea nests today in fenced-in areas on estancias; it is not difficult to find a nest, but it is difficult to get the eggs. There may be as many as 30 eggs in a nest. A nest is about so big [3½ feet in diameter]. Let us say a man is riding around on horseback looking for a nest. If he is not alert, he may come upon one before he knows it. Now, let us say the rhea is off the nest feeding—you know it is the male that hatches the eggs; but the female is always close by. The rhea sees the man on horseback come close to his nest. He will become so angry that he will run at full speed against the man's horse, either throwing the horse down or frightening it into a dangerous runaway. Should it happen that the male bird be on the nest when the rider gets near it, he will kick the eggs in all directions to break them. The male rhea has a bad temper. The only time a person can pick up an egg is when he is on foot and only while the male is a little distance away finding feed for himself." She added that in every nest there is a small unfertilized egg which was laid last. As soon as the eggs are hatched the female takes over. She picks open the unfertilized egg, which by now has rotted, and lets it ooze. Flies soon come to feed on it, and they form the first food of the young rhea. 252 825 [222]

Wild grains used as food in the early days were quinoa and wild 262

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262 barley (kawella); cultivated grains were wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapolwa). In later years oats (huinca kawella) were added to these.

252 Whole grain and grain ground to flour with a muller on a metate were used in preparing tortillas, catuto, milke, koñako, mote, iwiñ afün, and kofeñ. European breads made of flour were added to these in recent years. Tortillas were made by mixing flour with water and salt, flattening pieces of the dough between the palms of the hands and baking them in hot ashes. Catuto was whole cooked grain, generally wheat, well crushed with a muller on a metate and formed into a loaf. Pieces were either eaten directly from the loaf or fried in grease.

To make milke, grain and hot sand were continuously stirred by means of two sticks in a 4-cornered piece of pottery, known as lupe, made for the purpose. As the hulls of the grain were released, they were pushed over the edge of the lupe. When the grain was sufficiently roasted, the lupe was emptied into a külko, a sievelike basket, which was shaken to cause the sand to fall out. The grain cleared of sand was winnowed on a ulepol (winnowing tray), ground to flour on a metate, and then cooked.

Mote was wheat cooked in water with ashes of chakai. Ashes were washed off the cooked wheat in running water, and the wheat eaten warm or cold. Iwiñ afün was flour mixed with salt and water and fried in deep fat. Kofeñ was toasted wheat kernels. Koñako was not identified. Occasionally today each of the above dishes is prepared.

In addition to wild grains, wild plants used as food were roots and leaves of napur (unidentified), leaves of watercress (berro), roots and tops of apio or chirivia, and roots of achicoria. "Achicoria is best just as the plant pushes through the sand."

[177] Potatoes were cultivated even in the early days. The custom of fermenting them (funa poñü) by depositing them in a hole drained by running water, it appears, was learned from Chilean Araucanians in recent years. A man in his early fifties and a woman in her eighties had not seen potatoes prepared in this way; several informants, on the other hand, knew the location of holes used for the purpose.

Fermented potatoes were peeled and grated, and salt and grease were well worked into them by hand. They were eaten either raw or cooked. If the mixture was to be cooked, small portions were flattened between the hands and baked in hot ashes like tortillas, or rolled between the hands to form "one long sausage" and wound around a pole. The pole was then either laid horizontally across the fireplace or planted in a leaning position at the edge of it.

Unfermented raw potatoes (kófke poñü) were grated and allowed

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Argentina

to settle. The water that collected was poured off and handfuls of the potatoes squeezed to free them of any remaining water. The mass was then eaten either raw or slightly cooked. 252

Nuts from the cones of the araucaria (pl. 72, 3) were a staple food for families who lived where the tree grows. Families from other areas, too, migrated annually to collect them for their own consumption. Today families collect them for sale—at the time the present study was being made, several Quilaquina families went to Chinquilihuen to do so. "They pick kilos of them; we buy them from these people." Large groves of the araucaria are still found in Pulmari between Lake Tromen and the Magdalena Valley, and in the areas surrounding Lake Alumina, Lake Huechulafquen, and Lake Currhue Grande. Small groves and scattered trees are found at Lake Meliquina and Lake Carmen. The tree bears its first nuts when about 25 years old, and it takes 2 years for them to ripen. The nuts, white and almondlike and nearly the size of dates, are either roasted or cooked in meat stews. To roast them they are strung on a thread of sinew and hung at a little distance over the fire. In days when they were used as food by all families they were dried in sun and air and stored for future use. [222 262]

Wild apples (manzana silvestre) were dried on racks over fireplaces and then eaten both cooked and uncooked. This custom prevails today. An extra supply is stored. [222]

Among implements used in preparing and serving food in the early days were ollas, cántaros, metates and mullers, mortars and pestles, plates and bowls, cups, knives, pichañas, spoons, lupe, baskets, and winnowing trays. 415

Ollas (challa), large-mouthed pieces of pottery, were sufficiently fired to be used in cooking. They could be placed directly in the flames of the fireplace; not so cántaros. Cántaros (metawe, pl. 76, 1), large, narrow-mouthed pottery pitchers with one or two handles, were only sufficiently fired to be set in hot ashes or at the edge of the fire. Food could be simmered but not cooked in them. Cántaros were also used for storing food and for carrying and storing water. Ollas were always plain; cántaros sometimes resembled animals and were decorated. A pig-shaped, blackish-colored cántaro (pl. 76, 1) found in a grave in Pulmari, and now in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanin in San Martín de los Andes, is 8 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 4 inches in diameter at the opening. A duck-shaped one (pl. 76, 1), found in a grave in Huechulafquen, is 7 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 3 inches in diameter at the opening. [415 172]

In 1930 workmen building a road found approximately 50 cántaros

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cups for use at the ñillatun (1952): some were 6-inch-high mug-shaped ones, some were 4-inch-high cup-shaped ones with a handle each, and some were lily-shaped ones without handles. 415

The pichaña was used in scooping apples from their peelings. One from Malleo (specimen No. 5, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín) made of bone is 5 inches long, 1 inch wide, and approximately ⅛ inch thick.

Baskets were of three types: the rəni, the küłko (pl. 74, *4*), and the kołkupiu. All three were used for carrying; the rəni and küłko, as sieves also; the kołkupiu, for storage also. The small round seeds of quinoa were sifted from coarse chaff through the rəni; wheat is so sifted today. Hot sand used in toasting wheat was sifted from the wheat through the küłko. Wheat was winnowed on a ulepol, a basketry winnowing tray. 415 285

Traditional implements are in use today; and so are factory-made ones, such as plates, cups, knives, forks, spoons, cooking utensils. Improvised utensils, such as tin cans to which wire handles were attached, were frequently seen (pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*). 415

In the early days cooking was done over a fire in a shallow pit toward the front of the toldo. Smoke was emitted through an opening in the roof of the toldo directly over the fireplace. When weather permitted, cooking was done over an open pit outdoors. At present cooking is more often done on worn-down second-hand factory-made kitchen stoves, on heater stoves, or on improvised stoves made from oil drums. One man had made a stove by setting up two walls of brick about 4 feet apart and 18 inches high and putting over these a metal sheet; the front of the fireplace was left open. Today smoke is emitted between boards of walls and roof nearest the stove, or through a stovepipe led through a nearby wall, or occasionally through the roof. In rare instances a chimney is built of adobe brick. (Pls. 63, *1*; 65, *1*; 66, *2*.) 252 354

A woman in Trumpol baked bread in an oil drum set in upright position (pl. 71, *1*). The lower half of the drum was filled with sand. Pieces of tin rested on the sand and also across the opening of the drum. The space between these two pieces of tin was the oven. The woman built a fire on the windward side of the drum, and when it had burned down to glowing embers, she tested the heat of the oven with her hand. Finding it sufficiently hot, she placed a loaf of dough on the tin within the drum, replenished the embers with wood, and built a fire on the tin cover also. By the time both fires were burned to ashes, the bread was baked.

Open-pit fireplaces (pl. 72, *1*) that I saw (they were said to be 354

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around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself. Many families squat in similar manner today; an occasional one eats seated at a table. 264

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for this was known. 252 462

Drinking water was taken from an uncontaminated spring, either at its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be uncontaminated. (Pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*.) Homes were located only where there was an uncontaminated source of water. 271 312 361

Beverages in the early days consisted of mudai and of refreshing decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of paico and bark of maqui. Mudai was made by fermenting quinoa and neneo, cultivated small grain and corn, or araucaria nuts. These were either chewed by older women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fermented. Mudai is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made from cooked wheat. 272

Chicha (pulku), an alcoholic drink, was made of berries of mulwin (unidentified), parrilla, and michai, and of wild apples. A 70-year-old man had made chicha from apples in the following way, a way used in making chicha from berries also: Apples were picked, placed in a 5- to 6-yard-long dugout, and immediately mashed by hitting them with poles. The dugout was made of hardwood, generally roble. The mashed apples were poured into calfskin containers in which holes had been previously poked, and the containers hung over the dugout. Each container was then pressed between two poles to force the flow of juice, which was retained in unperforated calfskin containers until it became chicha. 273

I observed a 59-year-old woman making chicha from berries of parrilla and michai. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She mashed bowlfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an unperforated hide container that she had made by fastening the ends of the hide to two poles a short distance apart. As soon as the juice had fermented to suit her taste, she pressed a finely woven külko (basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Argentine law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is made by Araucanians; wine has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba maté, a non-Araucanian tea made of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and 272 [459]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

precipitated by elopement, the girl is sometimes in the company of her sweetheart's family, but if the marriage arrangements have been protracted she has usually returned to her father's house. The groom in most cases remains some distance apart from his family and relatives, in the company of several selected comrades. 585

There then takes place another *ñillanthungung*, or further discussion of the marriage wealth between relatives of the young man and those of the girl. A man and woman from each family discuss the marriage wealth in all its particulars. If there is still some last-minute disagreement, other elders confer. [584]

When final agreement is reached the groom enters with his comrades, all of whom are mounted. The entrance is calculated to be impressive. A friend of the groom kills a special horse, a fat one that has often been purchased for the occasion. The selection of a fat horse is more for the sake of appearance than for the additional meat it will supply. A choice part of the animal is cut off and roasted and eaten by the groom and the friends who accompanied him to the wedding. Meanwhile, the rest of the people busy themselves with the preparation of large quantities of food. The rest of the horse is given to the bride's parents, who, with the aid of their kinsmen, prepare the feast for all those assembled. Wine is consumed in great amounts, and if *chicha* is available it is also drunk copiously. Most of the beverages are brought to the affair by the guests, although the parents of the bride and groom supply as much as they are able. [262] [252] [293]

On accepting the animals presented him by the *weupüfe* or *weupin* (a male from the groom's lineage and an in-married woman from the bride's lineage), the father of the bride orders that some of them be killed for the wedding feast. They are killed by a member of the groom's family and handed over to the girl's father to be cooked. Once prepared they are served to the family of the groom, who get most of the meat.

After these matters have been attended to, and people are busily eating and celebrating, *mafutun* is undertaken. This consists of a payment to a married sister of the bride who lives elsewhere and who by prearrangement is not attending the marriage feast. The groom's friends, usually lineage brothers, take a horse or a sheep to the bride's sister's house. If a horse is offered to her, four friends of the groom usually make the payment; a sheep requires presentation by only two persons.

I am not certain if this payment establishes sororal rights in the [587]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

 A T 525

We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours.

A T 525 231 The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nursling carried in the cradle behind her.

A T 222 137 In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entirely on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Meña, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these

A T [252]

T 262 226 177

T [227]